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THE MILITARY HOSPITALS

AT

BETHLEHEM AND LITITZ, PENN'A,

DURING THE

REVOLUTIONARY WAR,

BY

JOHN WOOLF JORDAN,

ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA,
AND A CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE
WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY,
APRIL 10, 1896, AND BEFORE THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF
PENNSYLVANIA, MAY, 1896.

REPRINTED FROM THE PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY,
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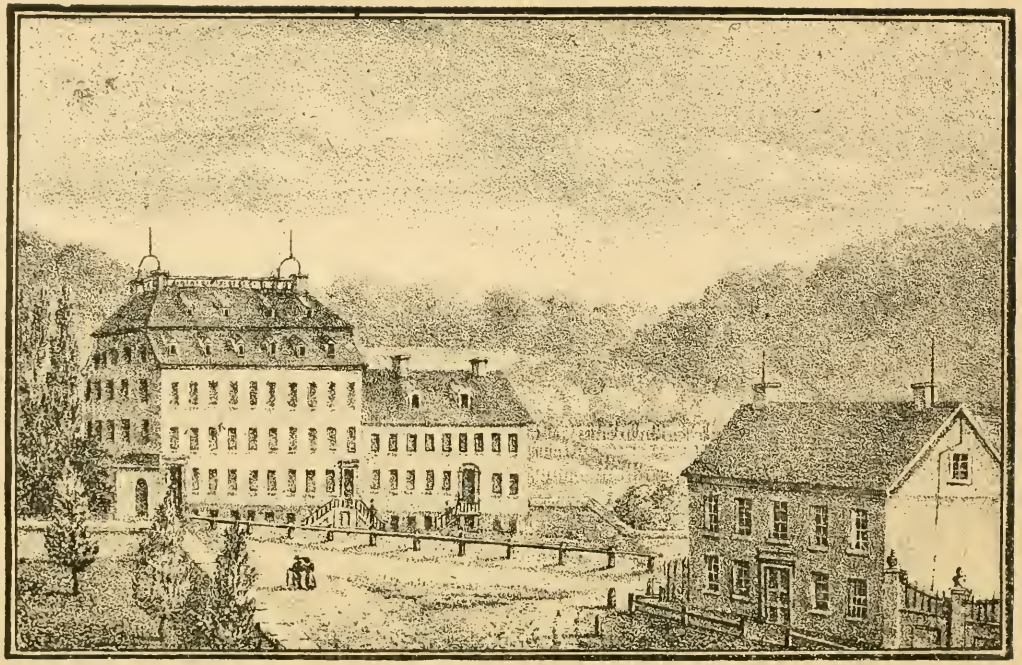

THE SINGLE BRETHREN'S HOUSE, BETHLEHEM, PA.

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THE MILITARY HOSPITALS

AT

BETHLEHEM AND LITITZ

DURING THE REVOLUTION.

For six years, from 1775 to 1781, Bethlehem was a thoroughfare for troops; twice in that interval it was the seat of a general hospital, and, in addition to the heavy baggage and munitions of war of the army and Washington's private baggage being parked in its suburbs, with its guard of two hundred Continentals commanded by Colonel William Polk, of North Carolina, many of its houses were occupied by American troops and British prisoners of war, and Congress found a temporary refuge there. The inhabitants, therefore, witnessed not only the horrors and experienced the discomforts of war, but also its "pomp and circumstance," for at times there were sojourning among them Generals Washington, Lafayette, Greene, Knox, Sterling, Schuyler, Gates, Sullivan, De Kalb, Steuben, Pulaski, and Arnold, with members of their staff, and General Charles Lee's division of the army, in command of General Sullivan, was encamped opposite the town.

The population of Bethlehem averaged about five hundred souls, mainly domiciled in that pile of solidly built and commodious structures, buttressed and hip-roofed, which bound three sides of the quadrangle on Church Street, in the "Widows' House" over the way, and in the building of the single brethren, which fronted on the square. There was also the "Church Store" on Market Street, opposite the cemetery, the superintendent of which, on a certain occasion, with some asperity, remarked "that he had sufficient rope in the store to hang all the members of Congress," and thereby rendered his position uncomfortable, if not precarious. In its capacious cellars were stored the commissary and medical stores belonging to the hospital, and in the dwelling part sick and wounded officers found desirable quarters. Near by was the dwelling of Timothy Horsfield, who, during the French and Indian War, was a well-known magistrate and a colonel in the Provincial service, where refugees from Philadelphia and New York were provided with a temporary home. Beyond, to the west, resided William Boehler, where Captain Thomas Webb, the founder of Methodism in America, and a British prisoner of war, with his family of seven persons, were comfortably accommodated. On what is now Main Street, and north of the "Brethren's House," stood the "Family House," for married people, in which for three weeks in 1777 were confined two hundred and eighteen British prisoners, one hundred of whom were the partisan Highlanders of Donald MacDonald, from the Cross Creek settlement, near Fayetteville, North Carolina. Their guard of one hundred Continentals were given quarters in the water-works building. When they marched for Reading and Lancaster, the surgeons of the hospital occupied the building.

Farther up the thoroughfare, clustered about the "first house," were the farm buildings, and not far distant the dwelling of Frederick Boeckel, the farmer-general of the Moravian estates, where Lafayette, who was wounded at Brandywine, was tenderly nursed to convalescence by Dame Barbara Boeckel and her pretty daughter Liesel. The lat-

ter was still living when the marquis revisited the United States. The last house, on the high ground overlooking the valley of the Monocacy, was the Sun Inn, a hostelry with a reputation unsurpassed in the Colonies for the excellence of its table and exquisite old Port and Madeira wine; and we question whether any other inn in the country can lay claim to have entertained and sheltered under its roof so many of the leading patriots, statesmen, and military chieftains of the American Revolution.

Strung along the banks of the Monocacy Creek, which then formed the western bounds of this old historic town, were the water-works, mills, and shops, some of which were occupied by the hospital guard, convalescent soldiers, and surgeons. The guard-house of the detail of troops on duty was located near the saw-mill, and close by one of the principal fords over the Lehigh. Such is a partial description of Bethlehem during the period under consideration.

Almost unheeded, in so far as its massive stone walls have been assimilated with the brick and mortar of the modern structures with which it has been incorporated, stands what was formerly the "Single Brethren's House," but now the middle building of the Moravian Seminary and College for Women. It has weathered the storms of well-nigh a century and a half, and outlived great changes in the history of our country and in the history of the people by whom it was built. Twice during the Revolution it was occupied as one of the general hospitals of the army, the first time from December of 1776 to April of 1777, and for the last time from September of 1777 to April of 1778, where were witnessed suffering and death, revolting to humanity, in all their details of misery.

Turning to the chronicles of Bethlehem, we find that the corner-stone of the "Single Brethren's House" was laid on April 1, 1748; that its dimensions were eighty-three by fifty feet; in height three stories, and above a broken roof, surmounted by a belvedere forty feet long,—a fine specimen of the style of building to which the Moravians of the last century were partial. The interior was arranged so as to

separate the youths from the single men, on the first floor, four rooms being assigned to each. On the second floor were the refectories, the rooms of the superintendents, and the chapel; and on the third, and under the roof, the dormitories and extra rooms. In the summer of 1762 an east wing and in 1769 a west wing were added, in which some workshops for the trades conducted by the inmates were fitted up. The belvedere, from which a fine view of the valley of the Lehigh could be obtained, in ante-revolutionary days was a favorite resort for some of the governors of the Province, where they were entertained with cake, wine, and music, when *en route* to Easton to make treaties with the Indians, or on social visits to the Allens at Trout Hall.

After the defeat of the American army on Long Island, in August of 1776, General Washington withdrew his troops to New York, which city, however, a few days subsequently, fell into the hands of the enemy. This loss was followed by that of Fort Washington and Fort Lee in quick succession. Having crossed the North River into New Jersey, the commander-in-chief continued his retreat to Newark, New Brunswick, Princeton, and Trenton, closely pursued by Cornwallis. It was at this crisis in the affairs of the army that the removal of its general hospital, in which over one thousand sick and wounded were lying, from Morristown to some points in the interior of Pennsylvania became an imperative necessity, and Bethlehem was one of those selected. Its situation, which, while somewhat interior, was not too remote from the line of military operations, and its commodious buildings were points of importance which the American officers were not slow in appreciating. In addition, the commissary department knew that its wants could be well supplied by an agricultural community who were in possession of large and fertile farms. On December 3, 1776, the brotherhood were excited by the arrival of Dr. Cornelius Baldwin, of the New Jersey Line, direct from the army, who rode up to the clergy house and delivered to the Rev. John Ettwein, to whom he was directed, the following order:

"To the Committee of the Town of Bethlehem, or others whom it may concern.

"Gentlemen,—According to his Excellency General Washington's Orders, the General Hospital of the Army is removed to Bethlehem, and you will do the greatest Act of humanity by immediately providing proper buildings for their reception, the largest and most capacious will be the most convenient. I doubt not, Gentlemen, but you will act upon this occasion as becomes men and Christians. Doctor Baldwin, the Gentleman who waits upon you with this, is sent upon the Business of Providing proper Accommodations for the sick; begging therefore that you afford him all possible assistance, I am Gentlemen

"Your most obedient humble Servant

"John Warren

"*Gen'l Hospital Surg'n. and P. T. Direct.*"

He also brought a letter from Abraham Berlin, of the Northampton County Committee of Safety, addressed to Bishop Nathaniel Siedel, requesting that suitable accommodations for the sick be furnished.

Towards evening Drs. William Shippen and Warren arrived and made arrangements with the Rev. Mr. Ettwein for the reception of about two hundred and fifty of the sick. Dr. Shippen stated that all the patients at the Morristown hospital had been ordered to Bethlehem, but since "we had shown such a willingness to provide for them, he would now arrange to quarter the greater number at Easton and Allentown."

The ensuing two days were days of unrest for the peace-loving Moravians, for the sick, in charge of their surgeons, commenced to arrive in large numbers and in all manner of conveyances. Their sufferings from exposure to the weather and improper transportation made them pitiable objects to behold, and two died while waiting to be removed from the wagons. When it was learned that they were famishing for the want of food, the benevolent Moravians relieved them, for three days elapsed before the hospital and commissary supplies arrived. Room had been prepared for their reception, so that it was not necessary for the one hundred and twenty-two single brethren to vacate their building; and by giving up some rooms and increasing the

number of occupants of others, it enabled the surgeons to establish five wards.

On December 7 two deaths occurred in the hospital, whereupon it became necessary that a burial-place should be selected, and the site chosen was on the bluff on the west bank of the Monocacy Creek, near the line of the present Monocacy Avenue, in West Bethlehem. In digging the cellars for new buildings in that section of the borough, portions of coffins and human bones have been unearthed, which of recent years have been reinterred in the burial-lot of the local post of the Grand Army of the Republic. Dr. Shippen, writing from Bethlehem to Hon. Richard Henry Lee, states, "After much difficulty and expense, I have removed all the sick to Easton, Bethlehem and Allentown; their number is now much reduced and all are in a good way. I send twenty or thirty weekly to join the army. There is no Paymaster General near us and I am almost out of cash; I must therefore beg the favor of you to procure me $5000 and send them by the bearer Dr. Halling."

On December 10 the Rev. Mr. Ettwein commenced his visits to the sick in their wards in the hospital, speaking words of cheer and giving spiritual comfort when needed, a practice which he continued semi-weekly during the ensuing three months. Two days later the wife and family of Dr. Shippen joined him, and were given accommodations to the end of March, 1777. During their sojourn their infant son, William Arthur Lee Shippen, died, and, at the request of the parents, was buried in the Moravian cemetery. The wife of Dr. Isaac Foster (who had been ordered to the New England hospitals) was also provided with a room.

At the vigils of Christmas Eve all the doctors not on duty were present; but the pleasures of Christmas Day were interrupted by the arrival of a courier with orders for Dr. Shippen and his principal surgeons to report at once to the army of Washington, who was moving to the surprise of the Hessians at Trenton.

On New Year's Day, 1777, the Rev. Mr. Ettwein visited

every inmate of the hospital and wished them God's blessing, and on January 8, Dr. John Morgan and a number of the surgeons were ordered to New England. Towards the end of February the small-pox was brought to the town by some soldiers, forty of whom were inoculated, as well as some children, and by this prompt action its spread was averted.

On March 14, Dr. Jonathan Potts, who had been appointed to succeed Dr. Samuel Stringer, director of the hospitals of the Northern Department, with his staff of surgeons and several wagon-loads of medical stores, passed through the town *en route* to Albany; and Dr. James Houston, who Mr. Ettwein records "was the most skillful and attentive of the surgeons in the Hospital here," pursuant to orders, set out to join the army in the Jerseys.

On March 27 orders were received to transfer the hospital to Philadelphia, and after thirty convalescents were despatched to the army and the sick removed, the building was turned over to the cleaners, and in a short time the vacated rooms were reoccupied by their former inmates.

The Rev. Mr. Ettwein, who virtually acted as chaplain of the hospital, has recorded that during the month of December sixty-two deaths occurred, in a large degree due to the effects of exposure in removal, and that by the close of the winter the number had been increased to one hundred and ten. Many attentions were extended to the sufferers by the single brethren who remained in the house and by members of the congregation, and the sisters prepared lint and bandages. Furthermore, the Moravian carpenters made the coffins and dug the graves of those who died, charitable offices which are not unworthy the remembrance of posterity.

It may also be stated that Colonel Isaac Reed, of the Fourth Virginia Line, who since December 5, 1776, had been provided with quarters at the "Church Store" for medical treatment, was unable to leave before Sunday, June 22, 1777; that eighteen single brethren took turns in carrying him to the ferry over the Lehigh, where a chair and two

horses were in waiting, and that two of their number accompanied his physician, Dr. Alexander Skinner, of "Light-Horse Harry Lee's Legion," and Paymaster John Sutton, of his regiment, to assist in the journey to Philadelphia, where, unfortunately, the colonel died, and was buried August 21. Dr. John Duffield, who had lain sick at William Boehler's for months, left on July 7, "the *last* of the sick attached to the Hospital here," states the chronicler of Bethlehem.

The final occupation of the "Single Brethren's House" as a general hospital occurred between September 20, 1777, and April 15, 1778, and was due to the unsuccessful stand for the defence of Philadelphia made by Washington at the Brandywine, and the subsequent movements of the British. Dr. Shippen expostulated against the removal of the wounded to Bethlehem, owing to the distance, as many deaths would be sure to follow, but the commander-in-chief felt that there was no alternative.

On the evening of September 13 the news reached Bethlehem that Washington's army had been compelled to fall back on Philadelphia, and three days later a letter was received from David Rittenhouse stating that all the military stores of the army, in upwards of seven hundred wagons, had been ordered to the town. The church bells of Philadelphia, with "Independence Bell," were also transported to Bethlehem, *en route* to Allentown, and the wagon on which "Independence Bell" was loaded broke down on descending the hill in front of the hospital, and had to be unloaded while repairs were being made.

On Tuesday, September 19, Dr. Hall Jackson arrived from Trenton with the following letter, addressed to the Rev. Mr. Ettwein:

"My D'r Sir,—It gives me pain to be obliged by Order of Congress to send my sick and wounded to your peaceable village, but so it is. Your large buildings must be appropriated to their use. We will want room for two thousand at Bethlehem, Easton, Northampton, &c., and you may expect them Saturday or Sunday. I send Dr. Jackson before them, that you may have time to order your affairs in the best manner.

These are dreadful times, consequences of unnatural wars. I am truly concerned for your Society and wish sincerely this stroke could be averted, but 'tis impossible. I beg Mr. Hasse's assistance—love and compliments from my d'r sir,

"Your affectionate
"humble serv't
"WILLIAM SHIPPEN
"D. G."

"Seeing ourselves," writes Mr. Ettwein, "under the necessity of relieving the distress of the country, we gave orders for the vacation of the Single Brethren's House, and its inmates to be distributed in Nazareth and adjacent settlements. On Saturday we began to realize the extent of the panic that had stricken the inhabitants of the capital, as crowds of civilians as well as men in military life, began to enter the town in the character of fugitives, among the number, the Hon. Richard Henry Lee and Benjamin Harrison, of Virginia; Cornelius Harnett, of North Carolina; and William Duer, of New York, Delegates to Congress, and Dr. William Brown, who came to inspect the house for the Hospital." By Sunday morning the building was cleared, with the exception of the kitchen and cellar and the saddler's shop, which were to be occupied by a few of the single brethren who were to remain. Hon. Henry Laurens and other notables arrived in time to attend service in the chapel, and towards evening the first of the sick and wounded began to arrive, among them Lafayette, wounded in the leg, accompanied by his aide De Gimat; General William Woodford, wounded in the hand; and Colonel Armstrong, late from the field of Brandywine.

By Monday the hospital was filled, and tents were erected for those who could not be accommodated in the building; and the apothecary's shop was opened in one of the small buildings on the grounds. The doctors then began to look around for another building, and suggested either the "Sisters'" or "Widows' House," but to this Mr. Ettwein demurred. While escorting Mr. Laurens, Mr. Adams, and other delegates to Congress through these buildings, he

took occasion to plead for their inmates and to represent the distress an ejectment from their houses would cause. He was listened to respectfully, and the assurance given that these houses would be exempt from hospital purposes. On returning to the Sun Inn, Mr. Laurens requested Hon. Richard Henry Lee to issue the following order, the original of which is preserved in the Moravian archives:

"BETHLEHEM, September 22, 1777.

"Having here observed a diligent attention to the sick and wounded, and a benevolent desire to make the necessary provision for the relief of the distressed as far as the power of the Brethren enable them—

"We desire that all Continental officers may refrain from disturbing the persons or property of the Moravians in Bethlehem; and, particularly, that they do not disturb or molest the houses where the women are assembled.

"Given under our hands at the place and time above mentioned.

"John Hancock,	William Duer,
"Samuel Adams,	Cornelius Harnett,
"James Duane,	Richard Henry Lee,
"Nathan Brownson,	Henry Laurens,
"Nathaniel Folsom,	Benjamin Harrison,
"Richard Law,	Joseph Jones,
"Eliphalet Dyer,	John Adams,
"Henry Marchant,	William Williams,

"*Delegates to Congress.*"

The same evening the archives and money of Congress, under an escort of fifty troopers and fifty infantry, arrived from Trenton, to which point they had been transported from Philadelphia.

On October 7 some of the wounded from the battle of Germantown began to arrive, and by the 22d the patients in the hospital numbered upwards of four hundred, and fifty were being treated in tents, when the doctors refused to receive any more. The next day a cold rain-storm set in and "the sun was hid for six days."

Hospital Commissary Hugh James arrived October 28, with orders from Dr. Benajmin Rush to provide for one hundred additional patients until the weather would permit of their removal elsewhere; and to make room a frame build-

ing fifty feet long was erected in the garden, to which the hospital kitchen was transferred, and the invalid guard was quartered in the water-works building, and in the fulling-mill a number of the doctors and mates opened their office.

Dr. Shippen, writing to Congress, states, "The pressing necessity of the Hospitals which begin to feel the effects of cold and dirt (I foretold in my last to the Medical Committee) calls on me to address you in a serious manner and urge you to furnish us with an immediate supply of clothing, requisite for the very existence of the sick now in the greatest distress in the hospitals and indispensably necessary to enable many who are now well and detained solely for want of clothing to return to the army."

At his solicitation, the Moravians made several collections of blankets for the destitute soldiers, also shoes, stockings, and breeches for the convalescents, many of whom had arrived in rags swarming with vermin, while others had been deprived of their all by their comrades. In the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania there is an original document in which a soldier accuses his wife of robbing an officer who was wounded at Brandywine:

"To Major Johnson,

"Sir,—I do hereby accuse my wife with the Robbery committed on the Body of Capt. [James] Grier, of the First Pennsylvania Regiment commanded by Col. Chambers, sd Robbery consisting of one Silver watch, two Thirty Dollar bills, one Five Dollar Virginia Bill, and some small bills at present not Remembered—the above Thief Mary Myler lives at the Fullin Mill Hospital under Dr. Otto.

(signed) "Mat Myler."

There is preserved in the Moravian archives at Bethlehem the following brief but pithy notes of Surgeon Samuel Finley, of the hospital staff; Lieutenant-Colonel John Cropper, of the Eleventh Virginia Line; and Rev. John Ettwein, all written on the same sheet of paper:

"Sir,—The Bearer, Mr. Carr, is in possession of Part of a House near the Fulling Mill, the owner of which wants him put out. He has

applied to me for leave to stay until he is sufficiently well to shift for himself, as he is to all Intents and purposes an invalid. I have told him it was not in my power to do anything in his favor. He then desired me to write to you for advice and assistance, for if he is turned out, he has no chance of having his cure completed.

"I am
"With respect
"your very humble serv't.
"SAMUEL FINLEY.

"BETHLEHEM, Jan. 6, 1778.
"To COL. CROPPER."

"In complyance with the request afs'd, these do certify, that Mr. Carr is not to be moved until my orders. Given under my hand at Bethlehem 6th Jan.

"JOHN CROPPER,
"*Lieut. Col.*"

"Col. Cropper has none to command in Bethlehem but his soldiers. Therefore we cannot receive his orders. Mr. Carr does not belong to the Hospital; we want the place where he is and he must move without delay.

"JOHN ETTWEIN.

"N.B.—Was directly fetched away by Mr. Finley into the Hospital."

During the month of November the Rev. Mr. Ettwein was occasionally called to the hospital to visit the dying and also to preach, and I find that he notes four deaths: Dr. Aquila Wilmot, of the hospital staff; Hospital Steward Robert Gillespie, a native of County Carlow, Ireland; Robert Lepus, of the Maryland Line; and a Narragansett Indian. Dr. Wilmot and Steward Gillespie were buried in the Moravian cemetery, the first in the row set apart at that time for members of other persuasions, now known as the "Strangers' Row."

Early in December great numbers of sick soldiers were transferred from the hospitals in New Jersey to Bethlehem. They came in open wagons, often amid snow and rain, with clothing insufficient to cover their fevered bodies from the piercing cold, and between Christmas and New Year upwards of seven hundred were reported in the "Single Brethren's House" alone. The mortality from putrid fever rapidly increased, and especially was this the case on the

upper floors of the hospital, where the ventilation was defective and the filth and pollution intolerable. Here was a field for Christian benevolence which the Moravians cheerfully entered, and Mr. Ettwein, with his assistant, the Rev. Jacob Fries, were indefatigable in their attentions. They braved the pestilence in its stronghold, smoothing the pillows of the dying and imparting the consolations of religion. The doctors made every effort to suppress the number of the deaths that took place; even the making of coffins and digging of graves, which the winter before had been generously performed by the Moravians, was now delegated to the soldiers of the hospital guard; but, nevertheless, Mr. Ettwein states that upwards of three hundred died during the last three months of the year 1777.

Director-General Shippen, in explaining some of the causes of this great mortality, states, "The want of clothing and covering necessary to keep the soldiers clean and warm, articles at that time not procurable in the country;—partly from an army being composed of raw men, unused to camp life and undisciplined; exposed to great hardships, and from the sick and wounded being removed great distances in open wagons."

Dr. James Tilton, of the Delaware Line, who was recovering from a severe and tedious case of the fever, and was resting for a few days at Bethlehem on his way home, was told by Dr. Samuel Finley, of the hospital staff, "that they were very deficient in even the commonest necessaries; that when the wounded arrived they immediately became affected with the fever; and that the commissary, matron, nurses and waiters, and all but one of the surgeons had had the infection. All the doctors were of the opinion that only about two hundred patients should have been admitted, whereas from five to seven hundred had been crowded into the building at times. To enable me to form some idea of the great mortality, he asked me whether I was acquainted with the Sixth Virginia Regiment, commanded by Colonel Gibson, reputed to be one of the best in the army, and stated that *forty* had been admitted, but not three would

return to their regiment, all the rest had been buried. He had no hesitation in declaring that we lost from ten to twenty of camp diseases for one by weapons of the enemy."

Dr. William Smith, also of the hospital staff, states "that he had known from four to five patients die on the same straw before it was changed, and that many of them had been admitted only for slight disorders. Of the eleven junior surgeons and mates, ten took the infection, most of them dangerously so, and one, Dr. Joseph Harrison, had died; and of the three hospital stewards, two had died and the third narrowly escaped. Owing to the crowded wards, and the want of almost every necessary, it was impossible to prevent an increase of the infection, and that the sufferings of the sick could not be attributed to negligence or inattention of the surgeons and physicians."

Dr. William Brown, who began to compile, while at the hospital in Bethlehem, the first Pharmacopœia published in America, states "that when the hospital was opened it was many weeks without so necessary articles as brooms, and that at last he was obliged to have them taken from the inhabitants of the town."

Dr. Moses Scott, of the New Jersey Line, who was at the hospital for three months, writes that during that time "between eight and nine hundred patients were admitted, thirty-four of whom died, and that owing to the moving of the Hospitals in the beginning, it was almost impossible to make exact returns of the sick and wounded. Upon computation, allowing four feet for each patient, we concluded that the house would hold three hundred and sixty without crowding."

Towards the close of December information was received, through Dr. Thomas Bond, that the hospital was to be removed to the west of the Schuylkill, but as the process was naturally a slow one, it was early in the spring before it was effected. This year the vigils of Christmas Eve were attended by forty of the hospital staff and convalescent officers. On the last day of the year the son of the Rev. Mr.

Ettwein died of the fever, which he had probably contracted from the visitations of his father to the hospital.

During the first weeks of the new year, 1778, there was little or no abatement in the mortality-rate, and the effluvia from the hospital carried sickness into the town. Seven of the single brethren died during the occupation of their building.

The following letter from Hon. Richard Henry Lee to Dr. Shippen refers to plans which the latter had proposed for the relief of the hospitals:

"BALTIMORE, January 1, 1778.

"MY DEAR SIR,—A happy New Year is my wish for you and your family; that it will be a year of freedom, our brave troops appear determined. . . . The Congress have lately invested General Washington with complete power to displace and place and direct anything relative to the military Hospitals. To him therefore let me advise you to make your immediate application, lay your plans before him, and prove as you have done to me, the propriety of adopting them. No doubt can remain but that they will meet with his approbation and support. Reasons for expecting the strongest friendship from France and Spain multiply upon us every day. If they can be prevailed with to make war, farewell the glory of England! . . .

"Our best love attends.

"Farewell

"RICHARD HENRY LEE.

"DR. WILLIAM SHIPPEN, JR.
"at Bethlehem,
"Favored by Col. Stewart."

Colonel James Wood, of the Twelfth (later the Eighth) Virginia Line, who had lain sick at William Boehler's, and a number of convalescent soldiers, left for the army, but the removal of the sick progressed slowly. At last, on April 8, the hearts of the inhabitants of Bethlehem were gladdened by the arrival of the final order to close the hospital; but it was not until June 27 that the single brethren reoccupied their building, and the trades resumed work after its renovation.

General Lachlan McIntosh, who was in Bethlehem superintending the transfer of the hospital, reports, under date of April 26, "to his Excellency the Commander-in-chief,"

that from January 1 to April 12, 1778, "eighty-one soldiers died; twenty-five deserted; one hundred and twenty-two were discharged and sent to the army; eleven were at the shoe factory [in Allentown], two attending on sick and wounded officers, and all the rest removed from the hospital."[1]

The late Jedediah Weiss, of Bethlehem, who was an inmate of the "Single Brethren's House" in his youth, informed me that he remembered seeing the marks of the iron-shod crutches on the floor of the chapel, where the convalescents were wont to exercise. But these traces of hospital life disappeared when the building, in 1815, was converted to school purposes.

In October of 1779, Lewis Weiss, Esq., attorney for the Wardens of the Single Brethren of Bethlehem, petitioned Congress to reimburse them for the actual outlays in restoring their building to its former condition, inasmuch as no charge for rent had been made or damages claimed for loss to the trades, and rendered the following account:

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Glazing 121 panes of glass, painting 27 rooms, 130 window frames, stair banisters and presses	188	15	6
Mason work, white-washing and 55 Barrels of Lime	76	5	
Cleaning house, yard and scraping walls	45		
8 Earthen stoves	12		
Repairs to locks of doors &c	9		
Carpenter and joiner work	27	7	6
Penna. cy	£358	8	0

The following list of the medical officers at the Bethlehem Hospital, though not complete, is, however, authentic, and is given as matter for record: William Shippen, Jr., of Pennsylvania; John Morgan, of Pennsylvania; John Warren, of Massachusetts; Thomas Bond, Jr., of Pennsylvania; Moses Scott, of New Jersey; William Brown, of

[1] This was the only report from this hospital found in the various government departments at Washington, D.C.

Maryland; William Smith, of Pennsylvania; William P. Smith, of New York; Cornelius Baldwin, of New Jersey; Bodo Otto, of Pennsylvania; Samuel Finley, of Massachusetts; James B. Finley, of Massachusetts; Aquila Wilmot, of Pennsylvania; James Houston, of Pennsylvania; Joseph Harrison, of Virginia; John Duffield, of Massachusetts; S. Halling, of Pennsylvania; John Hindman, of Maryland; Francis Allison, Jr., of Pennsylvania; John Scott, of Maryland; Hall Jackson, of New Hampshire. Hugh James, Commissary of Hospitals; Robert Gillespie, Hospital Steward; Joseph Shippen (brother of the Director), Paymaster; and John Brown Cutting, Apothecary of Middle Department.

The following officers and privates I have ascertained were patients at the hospital: Ensign Jacob Fiss, Eleventh Pennsylvania Line; Corporal Robert Carson, of Captain Samuel Moore's company, Third Pennsylvania Line, wounded in the leg at Brandywine; George Filsin, First Pennsylvania Line, shot through left leg at Trenton, transferred to hospital at Lititz and to Yellow Springs; Samuel Nichols, Sixth Pennsylvania Line; George Berkman, Second Pennsylvania Line; John Nagle, Captain Joseph Erwin's company, Ninth Pennsylvania Line; Thomas Powel, Maryland Line; Robert Lepus, Maryland Line; Lucas Sherman, Virginia Line; Richard Thompson, Virginia Line; John Chaffs; —— Preus, a native of the Tyrol; and Matthias Ambrett, private Captain James Grier's company, Tenth Pennsylvania Line. No official lists are preserved.

A fair computation of the number of deaths at the Bethlehem Hospital is upwards of five hundred,—a startling mortality-rate, indeed, when we consider the number of sick and wounded admitted. But this was not exceptional, for the death-rate at the hospitals at Reading, Lititz, and Ephrata was proportionately as great as at Bethlehem.

But Bethlehem was not the only settlement of the Moravians in which an army hospital was established during the Revolution. Their little village of Lititz, in Lancaster County, with a population less than half that of Bethlehem,

but with the usual collection of substantial and commodious buildings, for upwards of eight months was the seat of one.

On December 14, 1777, Dr. Samuel Kennedy, formerly surgeon of Wayne's battalion, arrived at the village with a written order of General Washington to provide for the quartering of two hundred and fifty sick and wounded soldiers. After listening to the objections and representations of Bishop Hehl, he selected the building of the single men, in which almost every trade was carried on except printing, and ordered that it be immediately vacated, as some of the sick were on the way hither. The inmates were lodged elsewhere, but retained the use of the kitchen and cellar.

The first sick to arrive—about eighty—occurred on December 19, and the following day fifteen wagon-loads more, from the Jerseys, filled all the rooms and halls of the building. The two doctors in charge and the commissary were also given rooms. In a few days putrid fever broke out to an alarming extent; both doctors were taken down with it, and the village physician, Dr. Adolph Meyer, took their place until relieved, ten days later, "by a Doctor who was a German from Saxony," whose name I have failed to ascertain. Some of the soldiers who were able to be about, fearing the malady, absented themselves from the hospital, but a snow-storm a few days later compelled them to return. On the last day of the year a wagon-load of sick arrived from Reading. Seven deaths were reported in ten days, all from the fever.

The first convalescents—twenty in number—were despatched to the army on January 9, 1778; and thus it continued almost daily, convalescent soldiers leaving only to make room for sick and wounded ones. On the 18th, Dr. William Brown arrived from Bethlehem, with a letter from the Rev. Mr. Ettwein, requesting that quarters be given to his family; but this could not be done at this time. Dr. Brown, who took charge of the hospitals of the district, was born in Virginia in 1748, and received his degree of M.D.

from Edinburgh University in 1770. On the breaking out of the Revolution he offered his services, and for a time served as surgeon of the Virginia regiment commanded by Colonel William Woodford. In February of 1778 he was appointed Physician-General of the Middle Department to succeed Dr. Benjamin Rush. He resigned from the service July 21, 1780, and died near Alexandria, Virginia, January 11, 1792. The preface to Dr. Brown's "Pharmacopœia" is dated at Lititz, March 12, 1778.

Dr. Francis Allison, Jr., who had also been serving in the hospital at Bethlehem with Dr. Brown, was transferred to Lititz. After the removal of the hospital to Lancaster, his family resided in the village for ten months.

During the month of January the fever became epidemic, and five of the Moravians who had volunteered as nurses and the assistant pastor of the congregation, the Rev. John J. Schmick (who had served for a number of years in the Indian mission), died of the malady. On March 22 the Rev. Mr. Ettwein learned from Dr. Shippen that it was proposed to establish a general hospital at Lititz, and as this would practically necessitate the abandonment of the village, he wrote a personal letter and despatched it to headquarters at Valley Forge, soliciting that the order, if issued, be countermanded. Washington's reply is dated March 28, the day on which he appointed Baron Steuben inspector-general of the army.

"Sir,—I have received your letter of 25th by Mr. Hasse, setting forth the injury that will be done to the Inhabitants of Letiz by establishing a General Hospital there—it is needless to explain how essential an establishment of this Kind is to the welfare of the Army, and you must be sensible that it cannot be made any where without occasioning inconvenience to some set of people or other—At the same time it is ever my wish and aim that the public good be effected with as little sacrifice as possible of individual interests—and I would by no means sanction the imposing any burthens on the people in whose favor you remonstrate, which the public service does not require. The arrangement and distribution of the Hospitals depends entirely on Dr Shippen, and I am persuaded that he will not exert the authority vested in him unnecessarily to your prejudice. It would be proper, however, to repre-

sent to him the circumstances of the inhabitants of Letiz, and you may if you choose it, communicate the contents of this letter to him.

"I am Sir

"Your most obed't Serv^t^,

"Go Washington."

A few days later Bishop Hehl wrote to Dr. Shippen, at Manheim, on the same subject, and received the following reply:

"Sir,—I am so much affected at the very thoughts of distressing a Society I have so great an esteem for, that you may depend upon it I will not put in execution the proposal of removing the inhabitants of Lititz, unless cruel necessity urges, which at present I don't imagine will be the case. If we should fix the General Hospital and take more room in your village it shall be done in a manner the least distressing and disagreeable to your flock that is possible, of which I will consult you.

"I am Sir

"Your and the Congregations

"Affectionate & Very humble Servant

"W Shippen.

"Manheim,
"9 April 1778."

Fortunately for the inhabitants of Lititz, the occasion did not arise for the establishing of a general hospital in their village, but the "Brethren's House" was occupied for five months longer.

Ten days after the receipt of Dr. Shippen's letter nine wagon-loads of sick and wounded arrived from the hospitals at Bethlehem, Easton, Allentown, and Reading.

After supervising the closing of the general hospital at Bethlehem, General McIntosh, who signs his reports as "Visiting Officer," proceeded to Lititz, from whence he reported to the commander-in-chief that from February 1 to April 20, 1778, "264 wounded and sick soldiers had been admitted to the Hospital; that 142 had been discharged and sent to camp; 83 had died and deserted, and 39 were under treatment."[1] He also reported: "The accounts of the first Doctors cannot be found. This is a

[1] The only report from this hospital found at Washington, D.C.

convenient and pleasant place for a Hospital, and is so near Lancaster, that the same officer and surgeons may attend both. The hospitals at Schaefferstown [Lebanon] and Ephrata should be removed here, as both are very inconvenient."

But the time was approaching when the hospital was to be removed from the town. On August 21 the surgeons were notified to make preparations; on the 28th the order arrived, and the removal of the remaining sixty-six patients to Lancaster and the Yellow Springs commenced. A few days later the chronicler of the village writes, "We are devoutly thankful that the heavy burden of the Hospital in our midst has been removed, and we certainly find it delightful to enjoy again our former peaceful life. It must be said, however, that Dr. Allison maintained order and discipline to the best of his ability."

During the occupation of the "Brethren's House" (eight months and ten days) one hundred and twenty soldiers died there. A burial-place was selected about a quarter of a mile to the east of the village; but, although diligent search has been made, the exact site has never been found, and it may be that the resting-place of these patriots will always remain unmarked and unknown.

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